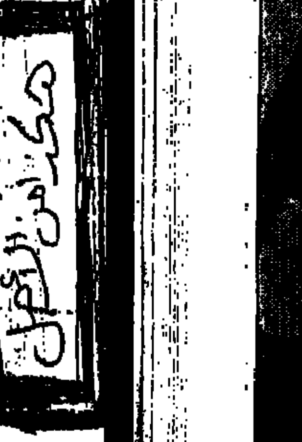


The German Tribune

Hamburg, 7 February 1982
Twenty-first Year - No. 1023 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Washington holds back on missile talks

The United States does not, for the time being, propose resuming bilateral talks with the Soviet Union on limitation and reduction of ICBMs.

Washington briefed Bonn in advance that no such proposal was to be made by Secretary of State Haig to Foreign Minister Gromyko in Geneva.

America has thus reverted to its intention of stipulating a linkage between arms control negotiations with Russia and the Soviet Union's overall behaviour in world affairs.

This decision marks a change of emphasis in American *Ostpolitik* that is likely to have repercussions on Bonn's foreign policy.

The intention of negotiating, by March at the latest, on genuine reductions in strategic nuclear armament with the Soviet Union was a major aspect of the arms control programme announced by President Reagan on 18 November.

When talks may now be resumed is anyone's guess. It would be entirely in keeping with the present US attitude if Mr Reagan were to hold back the proposals on troop cuts in central Europe he said he was going to make at the Vienna MBFR talks.

It is controversial, to say the least, whether the Helsinki review conference in Madrid will be resumed after the Western debate on Poland attended, in Washington, by the 15 Nato Foreign Ministers.

The North Atlantic Council has already reviewed the options here, and for the time being only the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear missiles are to be continued.

Yet there too the United States has said there will be a linkage with events in Poland. So it is hard to see when Mr Reagan is going to meet Mr Brezhnev.

Bonn has already drawn its conclusions from the trend and stressed the absolute priority of Nato policy after initial irritation over the Western response to the imposition of martial law in Poland.

Bonn is to endorse all joint moves against those responsible in Poland and the Soviet Union, but will avoid taking the lead in so doing.

But the Bonn government has no intention of playing any part in allowing the current aggravation of international relations to assume the proportion of a comprehensive East-West confrontation.

It is thus keen to exercise moderation and restraint in its choice of terminology so as not to rule out any possibility of further talks and negotiations.

Der Spiegel, the Hamburg news weekly, has quoted a confidential Foreign Office report and implied that a change in foreign policy fundamentals is being considered.

This is completely untrue, government sources insist. Not for a moment has Bonn called into question the priority of Nato policy.

Any deterioration in East-West ties is said to be bound to reduce Bonn's Ostpolitik leeway. The quotations printed by *Der Spiegel* are said to be incomplete and thus given to give rise to misunderstanding.

Chief government spokesman Kurt Becker regretted for this reason that part of the report had been published. The government had clearly and unambiguously outlined its position to the Bundestag.

Mention was made in this context of the results of the North Atlantic Council meeting in Brussels. Bonn's contribution towards the package of Western measures had been the proposal to waive all loan talks with Poland.

Unless the signs from Warsaw and Moscow sound a convincing note, Bonn is committed to reducing to the min-

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THE FRENCH PRIME MINISTER, M. Pierre Mauroy, with Chancellor Schmidt in Bonn. They discussed the issue of high American interest rates and laid groundwork for a French-German summit later this month. (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

Gromyko–Haig meeting proves a point

President Reagan has decided not to break off all high-level talks with the Soviet Union, despite recommendations that he ought to.

His Secretary of State, Mr Haig, met Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Gromyko in Geneva, as planned before martial law was imposed in Poland.

The fact that the meeting did go ahead demonstrated how much importance President Reagan attaches to top-level meetings at times of crisis and tension.

But Mr Haig's brief for his talks with Mr Gromyko was obviously limited to the exchange of viewpoints and the sounding out of prospects.

This was more than apparent from what the US Secretary of State had to say afterwards.

From Poland via Afghanistan to Cuban commitments in Africa, he said, all the problems on which America and Russia were at loggerheads had been discussed.

Arms control was the issue on which a rapprochement had been found to be most likely to be achieved.

But he had had to tell the Soviet Foreign Minister that for the United States strategic arms reduction talks would not be possible until the situation allowed.

Negotiations of this kind could not be held when the atmosphere was poisoned by what was happening in Poland.

The United States is indeed a free agent on this issue, which is a matter for the superpowers only. It has undertaken to its Western allies only to continue talks with the Soviet Union on medium-range missiles based in Europe.

It is up to Washington to decide whether it wants to persevere with the negotiations on a reduction in the number of ICBMs.

America has chosen to play hard to get on this issue in the hope that Russia might make concessions to impress US allies in Europe.

The concessions it envisages would be in line with European security interests without obliging the United States to make concessions on its own security.

Similar considerations apply to the possibility of a summit meeting between Mr Reagan and Mr Brezhnev, although to judge by what Mr Haig had to say, this subject was not even discussed in Geneva.

That will have been because the US government has decided as a matter of principle not to hold a superpower summit before next October, and then only provided the Soviet Union smooths the path.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 27 January 1982)

MAKING A POINT. Trade Union Federation chief Heinz-Oskar Vetter demands an end to martial law in Poland. He was speaking at a special trade union meeting at Mühlheim, in the Ruhr. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Politicians in Bonn have been remarkably reluctant to comment on President Reagan's first year at the White House.

German-American relations are not at present so uncomplicated that views and emotions can be allowed a free rein.

To that extent the situation today is much like it was immediately after Mr Reagan was elected in November 1980.

Then too Bonn was reserved. Initial commentaries were neither jubilant nor resentful.

A businesslike note was sounded, an inquisitive one too, and the emphasis was invariably on the idea that Bonn and Washington would stand side by side in the 80s as they had in the past.

Chancellor Schmidt was, if anything, more anxious than anyone to avoid complications by not sounding the wrong note, complications it would inevitably take time and effort to offset.

Herr Schmidt had learnt his lesson from Mr Reagan's predecessor, Jimmy Carter, even though the impression in Bonn was that the Chancellor would not have objected to Mr Carter being re-elected.

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Bonn takes stock after Reagan's first year

A year later inquiries in the corridors of power in Bonn, at the Chancellor's Office and the Foreign Office, say, reveal the same yardsticks being used as over a year ago.

In other words, although President Reagan has gained in profile and grown more predictable, he has still not matured into a politician from whom, as Bonn sees it, unpleasant surprises can be ruled out.

A year ago the authorities in Bonn were wondering whether and when President Reagan would be able to set aside his campaign commitments.

Bonn knows well enough that campaign speeches are seldom a sound guide to a politician, and even less so in the United States than in Germany.

Given circumstances made more difficult by this state of affairs, government circles in Bonn feel there has definitely been a change for the better.

One example cited is President Reagn's growing readiness to incorporate the idea of a dialogue in East-West ties.

Both the Chancellor's aides and those of Foreign Minister Genscher make this point, adding that Bonn's policy is to lend any help it can.

One question asked a year ago was what practical experience of world affairs the new US President had. In terms of what Europe expects of the man at the helm of a great power Mr Reagan had very little experience of foreign policy.

Helmut Schmidt was unable to resist the temptation to make this point, and he did so to a gathering of US regional journalists last October.

Visitors returning to Bonn from America now concede that President Reagan has an impressive command of detailed knowledge and does not need to rely on notes slipped to him by his aides.

No distinction is made here between foreign affairs and economic policy, the sectors in which the President particularly set out to pursue policies different from those of his predecessor.

But, of course, there continue to be commentators who talks in terms of an emotion-laden US view of world affairs, of American foreign policy not having been thought out to its logical conclusions.

Even in Bonn government circles there is a feeling that President Reagan tends to view the world too simply in terms of good and bad and that he bases his foreign policy on this yardstick.

This feeling has been reconsidered to some extent but by no means set aside once and for all.

US policy towards South and Central America is cited as a case in point. So is American foreign policy in connection with events in Poland.

Yet government circles in Bonn, it must be said, also sound a note of confidence after Mr Reagan's first year in office.

Politicians in both the government and the coalition parties in the Bundestag who claim to know their America are agreed that the President has undergone an unmistakable change from ideologist to a pragmatist.

One experienced America-watch[er] who prefers not to be named says [Mr] Reagan is not always convinced when [he] has to part company with long-h[eld] views; he is brought round by "conta[ct] with reality."

The instance repeatedly quoted wi[th] reference to his sense of pragmatism and readiness to set aside glowing ideals is his decision to embark on a disarm[a]ment dialogue with the Soviet Union and to consider a summit meeting with Mr Brezhnev.

Among Chancellor Schmidt's aides this Reagan policy has benevolently been dubbed under the headings continuity and consistency.

The President's eye for essentials [is] praised. In retrospect comparisons [are] invariably drawn with Jimmy Carter who is felt to have had a fine grasp [of] affairs but to have been inconsistent [and] unpredictable.

Secretary of State Haig's position seems to have been consolidated lately and this is seen as a sign of Mr Reagan's inclination towards a more conservative pragmatism.

More mention is made in Bonn of [Mr] Haig than of Mr Reagan in connection with German-American relations or [US] foreign policy in general.

From the outset of the Reagan a[dministration] Bonn felt Secretary of State Haig w[as] the man to bank on, although no-o[ne] expected him to turn out to be a libe[ral] after changing from uniform to a p[in]striped suit.

But confidence was invariably pla[ced] in his awareness of European interests and his knowledge of European condi[tions], both of which could hardly fa[il to] have an effect on President Reagan.

Sten Martenson

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 January 1982)

A win over terror

General Dozier was the first high-ranking foreigner to be kidnapped by Italian terrorists. The raid in which he was rescued was one of their most serious setbacks.

In the past the Italian authorities have been accused of being no match for the well-trained Red Brigades.

Too often since the abduction and murder of Christian Democrat former Premier Aldo Moro, the ideology of revolution has reigned triumphant over the guardians of constitutional government.

The victims of growing violence have included young carabinieri, police officers, politicians, lawyers, government officials and journalists.

But the Italian security forces have learnt their lesson. They are better prepared than they used to be against the lethal danger their country faces from terrorists of various political hues.

The rescue bid in Padua from which General Dozier emerged alive and well was a great improvement.

It was a lightning move made circumspectly, with due consideration for the safety of the public and using a special anti-guerrilla unit.

No-one in Italy would venture to suggest that the Red Brigades have been beaten for good. The war may not have been won, but a battle was.

It was a battle not only against senseless violence but also to maintain the country's democratic institutions.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 January 1982)

Continued from page 1

imum needed to conduct a political dialogue its ties with the Eastern Bloc.

Travel restrictions might be imposed on Polish and Soviet diplomats and higher transit tariffs charged for Soviet exports.

The EEC Foreign Ministers have reaffirmed their decision to end subsidised food supplies to Poland and to endorse an increase in interest rates charged on OECD export loans to the Soviet Union.

An embargo on imports of Soviet luxury goods such as caviar, Crimean champagne and diamonds is also being considered. The North Atlantic Council is shortly to review the situation in Poland and to consult on further moves by the West.

(General-Anzeiger, 26 January 1982)

EEC again fails to agree on cash quotas, agriculture

The EEC has again failed to agree on guidelines to solve the finance and agriculture issues.

A ministerial meeting in Brussels abandoned talks on cutting both Britain's contribution to the EEC and the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy.

It was the third bid to get to grips with the problems.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said this failure was a day "of deep disappointment".

He was not the only person dissatisfied. Many of his fellow delegates had difficulty concealing their anger with what they saw as Britain's intransigence.

"One can but hope there has been a growing realisation that the EEC is not just a pride of lions in which each member is out solely to look after No. 1," Herr Genscher said.

What particularly annoyed the foreign ministers was the attitude of Britain's Lord Carrington. He questioned several issues which his fellow delegates felt had been already agreed on at previous meetings.

That threatened to break up the entire web of agreement so painstakingly negotiated. Talks were practically abandoned at the point where they had begun at a previous meeting on 14 January.

Twenty-one hours of strenuous consultations, often between the foreign ministers on their own, seemed to have been wasted.

Yet despite annoyance on this point everyone was careful to exercise restraint. No-one blew his top, although

Handelsblatt

crisis could be felt to be just around the corner.

But everyone was afraid that a dispute at this stage would swiftly lead to a catastrophe with irreparable damage as a result. So Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans, current chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the EEC Commission's M. Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg were entrusted with making it clear yet again in Common Market capitals how serious the situation was.

They were to sound out the prospects of a solution to the issues at stake and report on their progress in time for the next EEC summit on 29 and 30 March in Brussels.

This deadline is cutting it very fine indeed. If Britain's high net contribution towards the cost of the European Community is to be cut, ideas on how to cut the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy must be found fast.

This can only be effectively done via the annual farm price review, on which agreement ought long since to have been reached and which must be agreed by the end of March at the latest.

M. Tindemans may have given as[surance] that most EEC countries w[ould] like to avoid linkage of the farm p[rice] review and the failed CAP reform b[id].

But for Britain as high as possib[le] reduction in net payments is the le[ver] with which to block the farm price [re]view, while France sees the farm p[rice] review as a means of blocking Brit[ain's] bid to cut costs.

This conflict threatens to throw [the] entire European Community out [of] joint.

Carl A. Ehrhardt

(Handelsblatt, 27 January 1982)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. – Distribution Manager: Georgine Picone.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02-14733.

Advertising rates list No 13 –
Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedrich Pöhl, Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Coalition stays united but problems leave no room for complacency

There is little reason for smugness in domestic and international politics: this became clear during the Bundestag debate on the 1982 budget.

The Federal Republic of Germany is out of step with the rest of the world, and it is largely its own fault.

Much of the reason is what has been said about Poland.

Members of the government and senior SPD members have been responsible for a varying mixture of ill-considered, ill-informed and ill-justified statements on Poland.

On the domestic scene, unemployment stands at 1.7 million and it is rising. There are huge budgetary deficits, and they are rising as well.

Yet the government, and the coalition parties, which are largely responsible, are looking at their position with some satisfaction.

After several months during which it seemed as if the Social-Liberal coalition were disintegrating and the SPD reached a low in opinion surveys, the coalition stabilised again.

Even if it were true that FDP leaders considered switching sides last summer (the SPD feared and the CDU hoped that this was so at the time), this possibility has now passed.

Unless something unexpected happens, the coalition will survive not only this year but the whole of the legislative period – even if the Free Democrats don't take the five per cent hurdle in the four state elections later this year.

It is hard to pinpoint the reasons for this new coalition solidarity and its improved public image. One of the reasons might be the fact that *Deutschlandpolitik* is still a unifying element. The firm stance adopted by the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister towards Soviet leader Brezhnev during his visit to Bonn also plays a role.

Schmidt and Genscher made it clear that they are willing to talk but stressed at the same time that they are staunch members of the Western alliance.

This unity by Schmidt and Genscher, the fact that they pulled in the same direction on the Polish issue despite some see-sawing here and there must not be underestimated.

SPD and FDP are also less disunited than before on how to tackle social problems, primarily unemployment.

The ultimate solution is unlikely to materially change our structural unemployment and fill government coffers; but it will give the coalition a feeling of having been successful and of having at least managed to agree on a lowest common denominator and so stay in power.

All this is not exactly encouraging for the CDU/CSU opposition which fought valiantly in the Bundestag debate and in individual committee meetings.

But the fight it put up does not bring it any closer to assuming the helm of government. In fact, this is now even further from the opposition's grasp than it was last summer.

Especially on foreign policy issues, the chasm between the FDP and the conservatives, who need the Liberals as a potential coalition partner, is now even wider than it was before.

Urged on by the *Länder*, the CDU/CSU will probably have to go along with government measures to combat unemployment, which it considers wrong.

The depressing thing about the budget debate at the beginning of January is that it opened up no perspectives for the future.

The government has no money for new and costly reforms and it lacks the courage to correct a policy which might have been right when it was drafted but not necessarily so now and which, anyway, has become too expensive.

But since the government cannot give the impression of twiddling its thumbs it must do something even in the full knowledge that it is futile.

This being so, have SPD and FDP any right whatsoever to be satisfied with their newly found solidarity?

Heinz-Peter Finke

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 25 January 1982)

Wait until the opposition see what we've got planned! Herr Genscher, the FDP leader, and Chancellor Schmidt during the budget debate in the Bundestag. (Photo: dpa)

Bundestag MP resigns from SPD

Another member of the Bundestag has left the SPD.

Manfred Coppik said in explaining his resignation that the party would be more credible without him.

Only last month, the expulsion of rebel MP Karl-Heinz Hansen was finally confirmed after a long-running acrimonious dispute.

Unless his three-page letter to party chief Willy Brandt and his verbal statements are pure tactics, Coppik acted honourably and out of conviction when he handed in his party card.

And there is much to indicate that exactly this is the case.

His quiet departure contrasts with Hansen who slung mud at his party until it was forced to kick him out.

Coppik is evidently more earnest than Hanson in his rejection of Chancellor Schmidt. He is also more consistent than Hansen.

Surprisingly, in giving the reasons for his resignation, Coppik says that the SPD would become more credible through his resignation and better able to get its policy across.

He stressed, however, that this policy cannot be called "left".

The SPD, with which Coppik and his friends want to compete, will have to take into account that he is not a renegade and a zealot.



Manfred Coppik . . . honourable motives. (Photo: Werck)

This being so, he asks ironically: Does anybody think I am naive enough to found a party with Hansen? Coppik is well aware that his extreme and socialist views will meet with little public response.

As a result, he pins his hopes on the SPD left wing and the whole of the protest movement.

This is also the reason why Coppik woos the most "stable group" in this camp, the Greens (environmentalists).

He knows that only a concentration of all groupings that are dissatisfied with the established parties can provide a promising election ticket – and even that perhaps only temporarily.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 January 1982)

Cash shortage dogs plans to create jobs

The search for a cure for unemployment is marked by a general atmosphere of helplessness.

Now the coalition has deferred its effort to fashion a job creation concept.

It has decided to wait for the annual economic report before making any decision.

There are evidently no shortage of ideas. It is the money that is short.

As a result, the discussion on new taxation continues.

At first, there was talk of a special levy on high incomes, which are heavily taxed anyway.

Then Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff suggested that the increase of VAT planned for 1984 be introduced six months earlier.

But realising that increased revenue in the second half of next year would come too late to finance measures that are needed now, the discussion now revolves around a tax increase for fossil oil, as suggested by Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer.

Matthöfer's proposal is hard to swallow for the Free Democrats, who now find themselves in a dilemma: they can either accept higher oil taxation or they will have to abandon their stance that further borrowing on the part of the government is unacceptable.

The coalition finds itself in a cleft stick because neither proposal is likely to create and secure jobs. In fact, such doubtful programmes could even endanger existing jobs.

But coalition circles are no longer making such strong statements. The human problems of unemployment and the fear of losing votes on a massive scale at the forthcoming state elections have buttressed the inclination in the SPD and FDP to do something quickly – just to show that they are willing.

However, such activity in combating unemployment will have to take into account that any shift in the use of the GNP from the consumption to the investment sector calls for rollbacks elsewhere.

The range here goes all the way from low wage deals via cutbacks in the social security system to the pruning of subsidies.

But no matter how massive the cutbacks, it is doubtful whether they can be massive enough to provide the financial scope needed for effective measures.

Most proposals that have been tabled so far entail more disadvantages than advantages.

Since all democratic parties in this country are agreed on the necessity to promote investment, it would seem foolish to hamper this through added tax burdens and measures that must result in higher interest rates.

The search for a new employment generating programme thus keeps winding-up in blind alleys.

There is, however, one point that nobody disputes: a sensible wage policy coupled with investment promoting conditions could create more worthwhile jobs than any government programme that is bound to remain patchwork.

Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, 28 January 1982)

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Hamm-Brücher looks at her new role

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher (FDP), Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office and newly appointed coordinator of German-American relations, is a typical product of post-war German history.

She began her career as a journalist at *Neue Zeitung*, which was founded by the Americans. This was followed by study at an American university on a scholarship and subsequent party work for the FDP which was dominated by the awareness that the alliance with America must be an integral part of German policy.

In her present position as coordinator of German-American relations Frau Hamm-Brücher realises, however, that it will get us nowhere "to bemoan the past and try to perpetuate old recipes."

In tackling her additional function, as for instance in connection with the Polish crisis and the resulting estrangement between the two countries, she calls for a rethink.

She can as yet see no major crisis in the relationship between the two nations but she is aware of the fact that "the overall climate is no longer right."

Are the two societies drifting apart? Or what is the problem?

We talked about this problem for quite a while before Frau Hamm-Brücher came up with a suitable formula: "The culprits in bringing about this atmosphere of uncertainty are we ourselves and the peace discussion in this country.

"But this is aggravated on the other side of the Atlantic by a huge deficit of topical and detailed knowledge about the Federal Republic of Germany. This is a cumulative process that can become dangerous."

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher herself is rather surprised that opinion polls show *a remarkable stability in our relations* with the United States: the overwhelming majority of the German public is as pro-American as ever.

What does worry her is that "people here no longer remember how this country developed into a free nation and that this was done with American help."

The consequence is that this freedom is taken for granted here and that everybody is certain that the Americans will never leave this country and Europe in the lurch.

But this could easily backfire because "the Germans fail to realise with the necessary clarity that America could reorientate its policy, making Latin America and Asia the pivotal points."

The Americans in their turn are becoming increasingly mistrustful when they hear or believe to hear the Germans say: "We Europeans must take charge of our own destinies."

The mistrust in this case is directed primarily against the Germans: are they still reliable or are they wavering again?

"Our history is catching up with us again. We should have no illusions about how little has been forgotten."

For the Americans, Frau Hamm-Brücher observed while she was there, German history ends with the *Holocaust*, the extermination of the Jews.

She considered it typical that during her visit to the United States last November (when she concerned herself entirely with the cloud that hovered over our relations) a professor told her that there was not a single American book on German post-war history.

She found it equally alarming that a mere nine political scientists at the Harvard Institute for European Affairs were concerned with Germany in 1981 (compared with 34 three years earlier): "There's little interest in each other left," she concludes.

Frau Hamm-Brücher has been particularly aware of the estrangement in day-to-day politics over détente.

The Americans see the policy of détente as having foundered. In their view, it was Moscow that profited from this policy because it enabled the Soviet Union to extend its sphere of influence — especially in Asia and Africa.

Western Europe in general and the Federal Republic of Germany in particular, on the other hand, believes that the policy of détente was worthwhile despite the setbacks because it brought human easements, promoted economic and cultural ties and triggered a process of erosion of power in the East, as is now being demonstrated in Poland.

Concludes Hildegard Hamm-Brücher: "Our interests are beginning to differ, and this is something we must talk about with the Americans. But this can only be done within the framework of the Alliance, not outside it."

In her work as coordinator, she will step up efforts to bring about meetings between people who have grown up in the post-war era and are now taking the place of the German founder generation. She wants a discussion that will strengthen the former confidence rather than erode it still further.

This new generation in the political parties, the trade unions, the media and other influential spheres should meet in three to four seminars a year.

What she has in mind are meetings that would go under the name of Steuben Seminars.

She would like the German representatives to visit primarily the American South, Midwest and West where "virtually nothing is known about the Federal Republic of Germany and its problems."

One can deal with criticism in the press (prevalent now on the East Coast) but how is one to deal with unadulterated ignorance, asks Frau Hamm-Brücher.

A particular target group, as she sees it, are the 10,000 or so Congressional staff members.

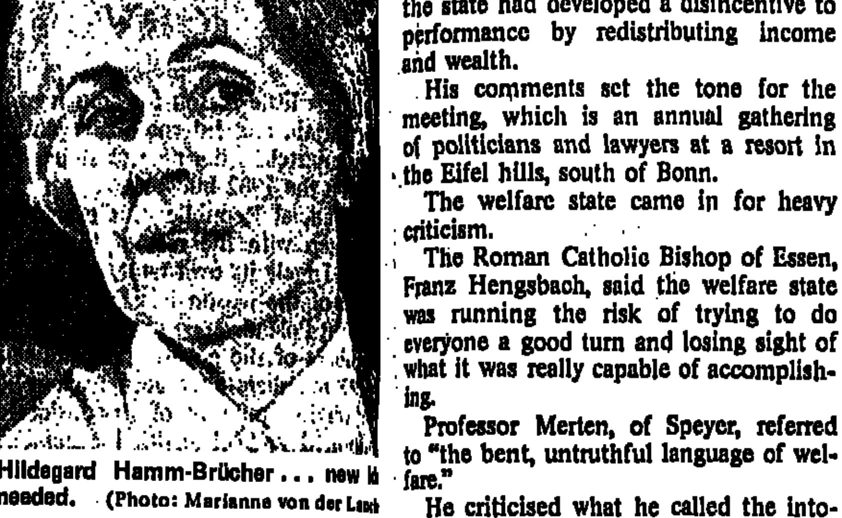
The new coordinator wants to avoid establishing something that could be called contact tourism. Even so, she urges an intensified youth exchange because the cost-benefit ratio here is particularly favourable.

This is to be buttressed by stepped-up work on the part of German consulates and such intermediary organisations as the Goethe Institute, which specialises in cultural exchange.

Frau Hamm-Brücher does not believe in money as a cure-all but she knows that money is necessary if a new beginning is to be made. But her application for an additional DM4.5m for 1982 has been turned down.

Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer kept his purse strings tightly closed, for which

Continued on page 5



Hildegard Hamm-Brücher ... new l[illegible] needed. (Photo: Marianne von der Lan[illegible])

Plan for daily show on US television

Running an information programme on American television is one of the aims of Hildegard Hamm-Brücher in her new capacity as co-ordinator of German-American relations at the Bonn Foreign Office.

Frau Hamm-Brücher, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, intends to [illegible] time on an American satellite or cable TV channel for a nation-wide daily [illegible] minute programme about the Federal Republic of Germany.

She wants to concentrate on American television because it had so successfully spread negative clichés about Germany and the Germans.

The post of a coordinator of relations was first mooted at a Cabinet meeting last April.

And in early January, when Chancellor Helmut Schmidt visited Washington, President Reagan told him that he had entrusted Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger with the same function.

Frau Hamm-Brücher has already presented a 1982 programme to the Cabinet. The initial programme is expected to cost about DM4.5m.

The aim is to improve youth exchange, expand personal and institutionalised cultural work in the United States and step up German language instruction. German-American contacts are to be intensified.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 January 1982)

VW finances anniversary scholarships

The Volkswagen Foundation has provided DM500,000 to enable five to seven guest scholars to work at the Princeton University Institute for Advanced Studies.

The endowment marks the 50th anniversary of the Institute. One of its permanent members was Albert Einstein.

The Institute proved a haven for German scholars who were forced to emigrate during the Hitler era.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 27 January 1982)

FORUM

Welfare state comes in for heavy criticism

Germans do not live to work any more. In fact it is doubtful if they are still even prepared to work for a living, according to a speaker at this year's Bitburg talks.

Professor Münnich, of Munich, said the state had developed a disincentive to performance by redistributing income and wealth.

His comments set the tone for the meeting, which is an annual gathering of politicians and lawyers at a resort in the Eifel hills, south of Bonn.

The welfare state came in for heavy criticism.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Essen, Franz Hengsbach, said the welfare state was running the risk of trying to do everyone a good turn and losing sight of what it was really capable of accomplishing.

Professor Merten, of Speyer, referred to "the bent, untruthful language of welfare."

He criticised what he called the intolerant attitude that all that is labelled welfare must be right and good.

A tax expert, Professor Kirschhof, of Heidelberg, suggested that a tax ceiling be imposed.

There was something wrong with a system in which income tax took away so much that the taxpayer could no longer make ends meet, he said.

This resulted in subsidised food, housing and the like. He said it was surely not right that large families end up paying more in tax than childless couples, if both direct and indirect taxation are taken into account.

A representative of the Trade Union Confederation, Dr Standfest, criticised Professor Münnich for "neo-liberalism of an appalling kind" and said what surprised him was the willingness of so *many* to perform uninspiring factory work without a mumur.

This was the result, he felt, of centuries of repression.

The theme of the talks was egalitarianism and justice.

Social security, said Professor Leisner of Erlangen, had an egalitarian effect and forced people into a uniform straitjacket.

But an increasing number of people wondered whether despite working as a safety net, social security might not be provided at the expense of social justice.

In the end, he suggested, social peace might as a result be replaced by a dog-fight, with each group taking on all comers.

He wondered, sounding a note of resignation, whether anything could still be done to counteract the widespread tendency to confuse egalitarianism and justice.

Professor Leisner outlined a vision of Mr Average as the only accepted norm in a process of intellectual and material levelling governed by state regimentation.

Over the past century egalitarianism had changed the fact of the earth in Germany, he said, and he doubted whether it could be brought to a halt. Justice was being stifled by equality.

Increasingly senior politicians and members of the legal profession attend the Bitburg talks and debate fundamental issues of the day in what, this year, was a snowbound Eifel.

Regular guests include Ernst Benda and Wolfgang Zeidler, president and vice-president of the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe, politicians such as Christian Democrat Eugen Gerstenmaier, a former Speaker of the Bonn Bundestag, and prominent university lawyers.

Professor Knies, Education Minister of the Saar, is another regular. This year's speaker included Social Democrat Hans-Jochen Vogel, a former Bonn Justice Minister.

The organiser of the talks is Otto Theisen, formerly Justice Minister of the Rhineland-Palatinate.

Dr Hengsbach said the Church had a responsibility because, whether it was convenient or not, the Church always and everywhere stood for human dignity and was bound to hold a viewpoint on social issues.

The Church bore a responsibility because, he said, it knew more about mankind. Social justice was complemented by and did not gain full effect until accompanied by what he called social love.

This concept went beyond loving one's neighbour because it included the care of the individual for society as a whole. Each of us shares a responsibility for the well-being of all.

And Dr Hengsbach listed a number of demands currently arising from this view of justice. They included effective measures to combat unemployment, humanisation of the working world by means of workers' participation in management, intensification of wealth creation schemes, economic unification of Europe and more aid to the peoples of the Third World.

Asked to go into greater detail on social justice, he referred to solidarity and subsidiarity, the guiding principles of Roman Catholic teachings on social affairs.

Solidarity is self-explanatory. Subsidiarity is the principle that higher authorities should not be allowed to do what can effectively be done at a lower level.

This principle in particular helped to ensure that justice was not simply taken to mean the same thing as equality and replaced by it.

Dr Hengsbach said we must on no account look on idly at unemployment. Work is man's part in creation and part of the fulfilment of life.

He complained that in the collaboration of people and the state the contribution of the individual was not given the importance it deserved.

The welfare state was running the risk of trying to do everyone a good turn and losing sight of what it was really capable of accomplishing.

The Church, he concluded, continued to be more than ready to make its contribution towards social justice.

From the realm of clarity of principles and encouragement Professor Merten brought the company back to harsh reality.

Social justice as he saw it was increasingly assuming the proportion of social self-righteousness, although he hoped the current crisis would bring a change for the better.

Welfare legislation alone did not ensure social justice. It was not merely a matter of sharing out goods; social burdens necessitated rationalisation too at work.

Money in the kitty, he said, tended to make people think in terms of spending it, and this had led to a range of weak points in current welfare provisions.

He was frank in citing instances, saying that the close mesh of the social security net led to overlapping and testified to a shortcoming of parliamentary democracy.

Professor Schmähl of Berlin and Werner Steinjahn of Bonn dealt in their papers with the government transfer system whereby the taxpayer pays with one hand and collects benefits with the other.

Money one has earned oneself, they said, was altogether more satisfying than a comparable handout. The transfer system had increased to such an uncontrollable extent, regimenting the individual and eliminating individual responsibility.

There was a growing anxiety that Germany's sophisticated social system might either be caught off balance or simply go bankrupt.

This was made all the more alarming by the fact that most of us were not in a position to take adequate individual precautions against risks of life such as ill health and unemployment.

Herr Steinjahn, a Bonn Ministry official, suggested replacing the term *marktgerecht*, or corresponding to real market conditions, by *marktrichtig*, or right for the market. More, he said, was not feasible.

There were sectors of distribution and redistribution where market controls were simply not enough. The poor died sooner, and that was that.

These were sectors that were all too easily stifled in red tape and all it entailed. There was a clash defying solution between what was socially desirable and the egoism of the parties concerned, with the result that all controls were imperfect.

One control that had gone wrong, Herr Steinjahn said, was the pegging of old-age pensions to average earnings before tax. It could not possibly be maintained.

Another was measures to promote employment, which had been generously planned in the days when cash was available. This had led to measures which were inappropriate, not to say pointless, yet hard to rescind.

He warned against unsuitable job creation schemes, using the term "employment under plate glass."

Other sectors where costs were getting out of hand were health insurance and the disabled (more than four million registered disabled).

Professsor Leisner said there still were differences, and there was increasingly bitter skirmishing over them, largely because they were so much less substantial than they had used to be.

But egalitarianism was making headway on two wide fronts: in taxation and in the transfer system. In taxation social security tended to redistribute wealth, while it had grown virtually impossible to even estimate the extent of transfer provisions any longer.

To the extent to which social justice was being replaced by equality, what was politically out of the question was beginning to assume a moral quality.

Equality, he said, must be geared to justice. When the desire for equality was given a moral tinge, as with zero rating, lump sum wage increases and tax progression, it no longer required discussion is a matter of principle.

Professor Kirschhof said that what the state gave with one hand it had taken with the other. The more generous it was with social welfare, the tougher the clawback from taxpayers.

He felt society had a right to expect the state to guarantee subsistence, but anything more at the taxpayer's expense was dubious.

He suggested stipulating a taxation ceiling There was something wrong with a system in which income tax took away so much that the taxpayer could no longer make ends meet and the state was obliged to subsidise food, housing and so on.

The individual was far from better off as a result. He was no longer able to fend for himself, being obliged instead to become a supplicant and prove his hardship.

Dr Standfest of the Trade Union Confederation (DGB) sounded an altogether different note on welfare provisions and social peace. What surprised him was not the number of dropouts from society but that there were so few of them.

The willingness of so many to perform uninspiring factory work without a murmur was, he felt, the result of centuries of repression.

The neo-liberals envisaged social peace along "master and man" lines, whereas in fact it was the trade unions that ensured peace.

The government spending cuts in the 1982 budget had gone as far as was permissible. The atmosphere at work was like a powder keg. All the unions needed to do was to light the fuse.

Dr Schnabel of the Employers's Federation sounded a note of moderation. For every DM100 on the wage slip, he said, employers faced DM77 in extra costs, which was more than anywhere else in the world.

The number of days lost through sickness was appalling: 1.6 million people were off work daily. Sickness benefits paid by the employers in the first six weeks off work had already cost more than DM200bn.

As the talks drew to a close Otto Theisen said from the chair that we must live with social tension. Tension had made its mark on the debate but had also enriched it.

So much for the diagnosis. As for the therapy and cure, it is not enough to call for heroic politicians to manfully carry out unpopular measures.

If justice and social peace are to prevail we must all shoulder our share of responsibility and stand by those who have the courage of their convictions.

Ignaz Kessler

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 20 January 1982)

Continued from page 4

Chancellor Schmidt — who is particularly interested in her work — had to ask for her understanding.

But the Foreign Office reshuffled its budget to provide her with the money needed for her American activities.

In addition, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher is trying to get more money the American way, by approaching private contributors.

The Krupp Foundation, for instance, is to enable American scientists to spend an extended period in this country; the Körber Foundation is to help finance a tour programme for young business executives; and the Bosch Foundation is to get the youth exchange off the ground.

The response is positive but so far there have been no binding commitments.

Even so, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher is confident that she will be able to improve German-American relations within the next three or four years.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 24 January 1982)

■ FINANCE

Foreign demand not the universal cure-all



Exports are widely regarded as the driving force of the economy, as the way of getting things moving again.

Exports are again going through a boom. Imports have also been checked. This has bumped up foreign trade surpluses and reduced the balance of payments deficit.

Can it be therefore assumed that foreign demand will once more be decisive in overcoming stagnation at home and giving a nudge to growth?

The answer must be no.

The benefits of a tough monetary policy are now being reaped: tight money has curbed domestic demand.

This curbed demand means that businesses have been forced to try and export.

Many firms have paid the penalty. Some have folded and many others have had their fingers burned.

The export boom has also has not visibly helped create jobs.

There are several reason for this.

Many companies have unused capacities in terms of personnel and machinery for export goods. When it comes to new investment, this usually goes into new technology and new products that require a minimum of labour. And due to the vast discrepancy between cost and profit, replacement investments are usually postponed.

The painful process of adapting to the electronic revolution in the energy and raw materials sectors and the relinquishment of markets captured by low-wage countries is slow. Even large companies with a wide range of goods find it difficult to adapt and are cutting down on their payrolls.

There is a shortage of newly founded companies that would advance into market niches. Instead, a new tide of mergers had led to a concentration of the export drive and redundancies.

There are limits as to the extent to which exports can be boosted. The major industrial countries are all struggling with the same problems. They are in many cases worse off in other countries.

There is a growing tendency to erect barriers to imports in a bid to consolidate and thus strengthen competitiveness.

Though our exports to developing countries rose unexpectedly sharply in 1981, in many cases this was only achieved by risky borrowing abroad on their part with the attendant need to have loans rescheduled.

The outlook for exports to the East Bloc is bleak.

Only shipments to the Opec countries which, in 1981, equalled total exports to the Third World, are likely to soar this year.

Though it is generally expected that the world economy will improve in the second half of the year, this is uncertain.

All this leads to the conclusion that export successes are no cure for unemployment. A turn for the better is unimaginable without increased domestic demand.

So far, we have pinned our hopes on a supply-side policy. New investments in products and technology were not only to ensure the most important demand component but also boost domestic orders.

Though the Finance Minister's austerity package contains some tax relief to promote private investment, this will obviously take time to become effective.

Public sector investments continue to diminish because of failure to restructure public sector budgets.

As a result of the developments on the labour market, the number of critics of such an economic policy that requires patience is growing.

Government financed job creating programmes have now become acceptable even to those who previously rejected them as useless.

The argument that such programmes could do nothing to alleviate the structural unemployment and that a painful adaptation process will be necessary is usually brushed aside.

In any event, nobody knows what shape such a programme should take. It is generally expected that some light will be shed on this aspect once the government presents its annual economic report in February.

The most popular idea here is the old type of public sector investment to the tune of billions of deutschemarks.

But nobody knows whether such investment plans are already waiting to be pulled out of Ministerial drawers. In any event, whatever the government decides to do, it will cost money.

The trouble is that further budgetary deficits would fuel inflation. Yet what we need is exactly the opposite.

The financing of such a programme through borrowing would raise the interest rate on capital markets.

A special employment promoting levy for certain income brackets would diminish private consumption still further, thus eliminating consumer demand as a stimulant.

And, finally, we must also think of the follow-up costs of public sector projects.

The Bonn government has lately concerned itself more with foreign than with economic policy. But the time has come for it to come up with some proper economic ideas.

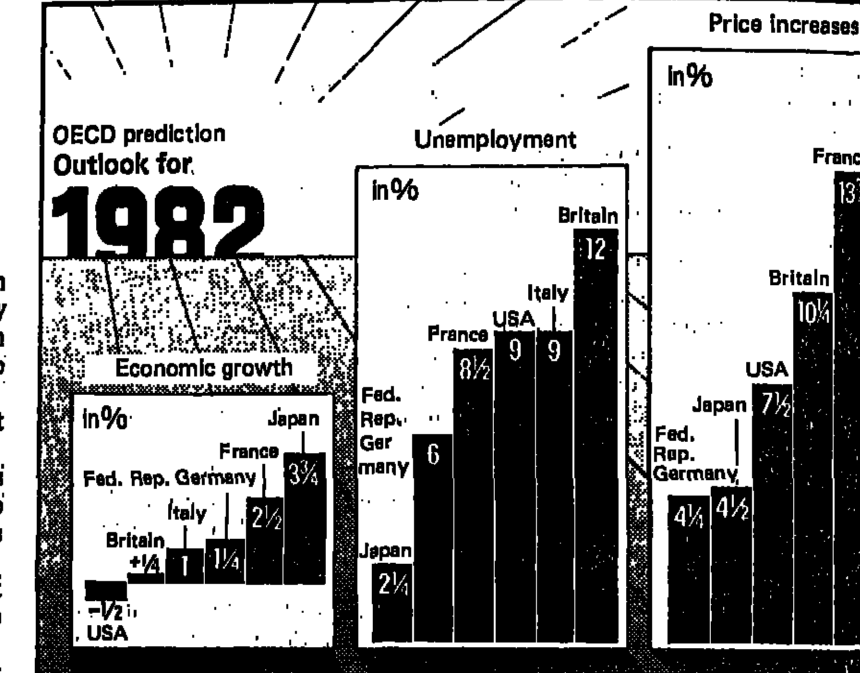
What we need is a package of measures that would not unduly strain public sector finances. This would have to include eliminating some of the red tape in our economic processes.

The tide of laws and regulations that hamper investments would have to be stemmed. In addition, public sector spending would have to be channelled into productive investment.

There is a considerable employment potential in the construction of housing and power stations.

The distribution of incomes should be

Continued on page 7



Elections colour attitudes towards economic tactics

Politicians are not looking at the nation's economic realities as clearly as they should because there are four state elections this year.

They are only looking at one thing: the number of unemployed. As a result, they are not getting to grips with economic problems.

The economic outlook is, at a glance, bleak: production has been stagnating, prices have been rising more steeply than they should be in a time of economic decline, despite tight monetary policy.

But, taking the economy as a whole, recovery chances are not bad.

A major economic factor, the balance of payments which reflects the causes of our present woes, is improving by leaps and bounds.

One of these causes is our delayed and inadequate adaptation to foreign trade factors. We failed to draw our conclusions from the fact that the 1979/80 oil price explosion cost us three per cent of our growth.

Until recently, it was almost exclusively the business community that had to foot the bill. Its profits therefore diminished at a greater rate than ever before in the post-war era. The result was bankruptcies, layoffs and dwindling investments that would have been necessary to create jobs.

The heavy depreciation of the deutschemark and the fact that Germany was better off on the inflation front than most other countries have markedly improved our industry's competitiveness.

At the same time, the pressure on profits diminished and exports have again become a pillar of the economy which would otherwise have sagged even further.

Continued export efforts and the resulting better profits that make investment worth while again could get us over the hump and ultimately improve the employment position.

Such a strategy is more promising than all employment programmes — even if the results may not show from one day to the next.

In addition, such a long-term strategy could also prove successful with other economic problem areas.

Stepped up exports reduce the current account deficit which in our case dropped from DM30bn in 1980 to DM20bn in 1981 and is likely to be eliminated altogether this year.

The deutschemark would then be prone to appreciation again and this, in turn, would enable the Bundesbank to reduce the interest rate.

By the same token, an appreciated deutschemark would make imported goods cheaper and have a beneficial effect on inflation at home.

This would be tantamount to a cost relief for industry and thus improve the investment climate without which the economy cannot recover.

The preconditions for such a development have been provided in the past few months.

But success can only be ensured if we are prepared to accept the friction that goes with the adaptation process.

What matters above all is for the unions to realise that wages are a determining factor for the competitiveness of our industry both at home and abroad.

Or, to put it a different way: unless the workers can stop the union bosses from hiking the price of their labour disproportionately they will catapult themselves out of their jobs and join the legions on the dole.

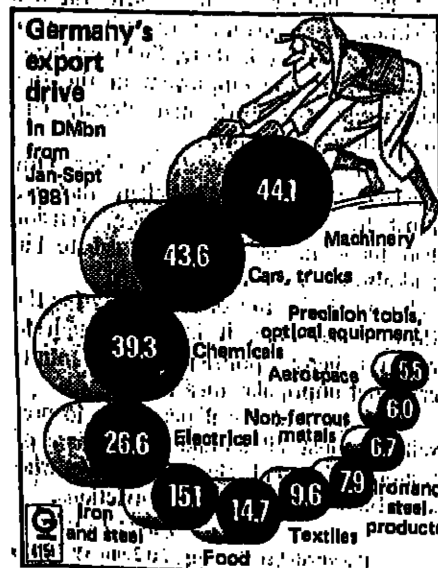
But it will take a great deal of patience to stabilise the economy, which has not deteriorated any further since the summer of 1981.

Summoning this patience would be worthwile and provide a more lasting recovery than government interference in the market forces through various programmes.

Nothing will be gained on the employment front if industry feels that government booster programmes will be no more than a flash in the pan.

Claus Dertinger

(Die Welt, 19 January 1982)



■ THE ECONOMY

Union leader warns that decline in real wages will not be accepted

Workers in Germany's largest trade union are not prepared to accept a decline in real wages this year.

A member of IG Metall's executive board, Hans Janssen, said real incomes must be safeguarded.

This was the only way jobs could be created — by creating consumer demand.

IG Metall, the metalworkers union, has more than 2.5m members. It usually is a trendsetter in wage negotiations.

This year's round has already begun.

Janssen bases his argument on an old trade union hypothesis: higher wages mean more to spend and therefore more consumer spending.

This leads to increased production of consumer goods and a consequent demand for investment.

Investment then generates orders in capital goods. That sector expands as well,

The result is full employment.

It is a plausible line of thought. But plausibility does not always mean soundness.

Experience has shown that in no country have steep wage increases got the economy going, or created new jobs.

This purchasing power theory has been practised in this country for about a decade. As a result, wages in the 1970s rose steeply in relation to productivity.

But the longer this wage hike policy continued the more the situation on our labour market deteriorated.

We have been plagued by permanent unemployment since the mid-1970s despite high wages deals that should, under the theory, have stimulated the economy.

Nor can anybody say that the state has hoarded money and thus undermined the purchasing power theory. On the contrary.

Not only has the state spent what it collected in taxes but it also borrowed several hundred billion deutschemarks on top of it.

The buying-power theory is brittle, and the potential added demand that is supposed to result from overstuffed pay packets is much smaller than assumed.

A wage increase of DM100 does not boost the buying power by the same amount. To start with, DM40 of the DM100 goes in tax and social security. Not all of the rest is spent. Much goes into savings accounts (say DM10). And some goes into the purchase of imported goods or is spent on a holiday abroad.



Off to test the purchasing-power theory

(Photos dpa)

This means that the economic impulse provided by a wage increase of DM100 dwindles to about DM40.

And even if this impulse were to become quickly effective, it would be nullified by the added financial strain it imposes on the employers by raising their production costs.

And then there is this: DM100 in additional wages costs the employer close to DM120 because of social security contributions.

The point is that industry has to bear the cost of higher wages long before it benefits from the additional demand. In essence, the effect of the added production cost is much greater than that of the added buying power.

The metal industry argues that the buying-power theory is a cheque drawn on the future. The point it makes is that the industry is expected to pre-finance the extra demand for its products although the thus financed demand only partly increases its profits. Therefore, the buying power theory must fail to achieve its aim: full employment.

A high-wage policy does not create but destroy jobs. It deprives industry of the air it needs to breathe and forces it to lay off workers.

In addition, high wage costs lead to rationalisation measures in which the costly element labour is replaced by the cheaper element capital.

Finally: the investment that should create more jobs and strengthen the competitiveness of a company — and a country — just is not made.

This buying-power theory has for years side-tracked economic policy makers and prevented a proper job creation policy.

Demand stands and falls with production and it is here that the lever must be applied.

Kurt Richebächer has summed this up in his essay *Im Teufelskreis der Wirtschaftspolitik* (The Vicious Circle of Economic Policy).

In the cycle of production and demand, says Richebächer, production stands at the beginning and not at the end. The theory of indequate demand reverses the chain of causality.

Weak demand always reflects its cause, which lies in the production sector.

As production diminishes incomes from production drop; and this means that incomes in general go down.

From this vantage point, which Keynes always stressed, the problem of sales bottlenecks cannot be solved from the demand but only from the supply side, says Richebächer.

"To eventually boost demand, it is necessary to boost production. Once production is ensured everything else will fall into place; and when production flags everything else flags."

There is no such thing as production without the prospect of acceptable profit. Profit, says Richebächer, is the decisive production and investment incentive.

Businessmen who expect more profit will borrow and so invest a multiple of the added immediate profit they hope to make, unlike the consumer, who spends less than his income — even taking consumer credit into account.

The small consumer lacks the big credit lever. And what about the reverse?

When profits diminish, "the drop in industrial demand is far larger than the rise in consumer demand which the trade unions pin their hopes on."

Anybody who strives for full employment must ensure adequate profits for business. But the profits of the German business community have been halved in the past decade, says Richebächer.

"This makes it obvious where a wage policy at the expense of profitable production and capital accumulation by industry must inevitably lead: production cutbacks, unemployment, bankruptcy and permanent crisis."

An important argument of the buying power theory is the so-called basis hypothesis to the effect that the lower wage categories must be raised disproportionately — usually through a flat-rate wage increase.

The reason given for this is that workers in the lower wage categories spend a relatively larger portion of their income and thus have a disproportionate ffect on boosting the mass buying power.

But this policy, although practised for some time, has so far failed to bring about a boom.

Instead, it has had a disastrous effect on the unskilled workers thus favoured: unskilled work has become so expensive that industry has no choice but to rationalise it away.

But the most important point is that the buying power theory cannot create the profit-generating jobs we need.

We must provide two million additional jobs over the next few years, and boosting consumer demand won't provide them.

Paul Bellinghausen

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 22 January 1982)

Continued from page 6

geared to the overall economic situation and the dwindling profits of the business community should be improved.

Management and works councils should probe the possibility of creating new jobs through a new structure of working hours.

As to the reduction of interest rates, it can only be hoped that international developments in this sector will enlarge the scope for such a move.

Exports alone cannot overcome the structural crisis and overall economic decline. The solution lies in a combination of measures to stimulate both supply and demand.

Here, the most important task will be to make use of all investment possibilities that will create domestic demand.

But this presupposes confidence in our economic policy — something that is lacking due to wrong evaluations and economic see-sawing.

Walter Trautmann

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 January 1982)

Debtors register a potential bugbear for businessmen

A businessman who has not paid a bill is likely to find his name in the court's debtors' register and probably in a number of other places.

This does not mean that, once he has the cash again and has paid up, the entry will be delected automatically. It is up to him to apply for deletion.

But since he does not know that he has to do this, the information remains in all sorts of registers for all to see.

This could cause considerable headaches in the future.

The situation should be remedied through legislation that would put the onus on the creditor to delete entries that no longer apply.

Discussions and reforms of data procedures (as in the internal security sector) are important. It is equally important that the shortcomings mentioned by the national commissioner for the protection against data abuse in his fourth annual report be looked into and political action taken.

The report makes it obvious that our authorities collect too much and delete too little data. But the dispute over this fact usually concerns minorities, and it is an even smaller minority that understands what the dispute is all about.

On the other hand, there are many areas that concern everybody and that receive too little attention.

Take the gigantic data bank of the credit rating organisation generally known as *Schufa*.

This organisation, which is mainly used by banks, has a data bank in which more than 22 million people are on record.

Anybody who has ever had a loan or bought something on instalment can be sure that his name is in the *Schufa* data bank. But he or she is not told.

Schufa passes on more than 20 million data a year.

This can lead to situations where a person who has applied for a bank loan is turned down without being told why.

The first step should be to make it mandatory for banks to tell a customer why he has been turned down so he can correct wrong information.

This shows that much remains to be done — not only in some specialised sectors of possible data abuse but generally as well.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 January 1982)

■ PERSPECTIVE

The cocktail party that sealed the fate of the Jews in Europe



The orderlies came round with one cocktail after another," Adolf Eichmann recalled, "and by the end everyone was talking at once."

He was referring to the Wannsee Conference, held 40 years ago on 20 January 1942, at which Third Reich authorities agreed on plans for the "final solution" of the Jewish Question.

Eichmann saw it as having been a kind of cocktail party at which there had been some plain speaking. "It only lasted an hour and a half," he said.

Yet this 90-minute meeting at Interpol headquarters in wartime Berlin was enough to set the stage for the Nazi bid to exterminate the entire Jewish race in Europe.

It was held by SS *Obergruppenführer* Reinhard Heydrich at the behest of Hermann Göring. Its proceedings were classified but by no means an SS conspiracy.

It was attended by state secretaries from the Ministry of the Interior, the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Justice, the Reich Chancellery, the Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories, the Office of the Generalgouvernement (occupied Poland) and representatives of a wide range of government departments.

Minutes taken down as a reminder

Had it not been for their presence minutes of the proceedings might well not have been taken. They were prepared because, or so Eichmann later said, Heydrich wanted to be able to remind the Ministry officials later of the undertakings they had given.

Adolf Eichmann joined Heydrich's SD, the SS special branch, in 1934 and in 1939 was appointed head of the Jewish affairs department at the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*.

From 1941 he was responsible for organising the shipment of most of the Jews in German-occupied Europe to concentration camps.

After the war he escaped via Italy to Argentina, where the Israeli secret service traced him and abducted him. He was tried by an Israeli court, sentenced and executed in 1961.

The final solution of the Jewish Question was expected by the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* to entail the extermination of about 11 million practising Jews in Europe.

The crucial paragraphs of the Wannsee minutes read as follows:

"Europe will be combed from West to East. The Reich, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, will need searching first, if only for reasons of housing and other social necessities.

"Evacuated Jews will first be shipped systematically to so-called transit ghettoes prior to shipment further east.

"Suitably organised, the Jews will be put to work in the East as part of the final solution. Jews capable of work will work in road gangs, strictly segregated according to sex, most doubtless being eliminated by a process of natural reduction.

"The remainder, being the fittest, must be suitably treated. If released they might otherwise form the nucleus of a Jewish recovery, as historical experience has shown."

By 1942 suitable treatment needed no further definition. As part of Hitler's euthanasia programme lethal gases had been developed.

The Wannsee conference gave preference to a cyanide known as Zyklon B. It had successfully been used in experiments in Auschwitz in September 1941.

Gas chambers were available at Chelmno, near Lodz, and Belzec, near Lublin. The Wannsee gathering expressed approval of the existing facilities.

Extensions were made to Auschwitz. In the first half of 1942 a new death camp was built near Sobibor and the labour camps at Majdanek, near Lublin, and Treblinka were converted into death camps.

Now the killing began in earnest, as Gordon A. Craig puts it in his history of Germany.

By the war's end nearly six million people had met their deaths in the camps. The Wannsee conference marked the beginning of the three-year climax of the genocide programme.



Adolf Eichmann

It was, as Craig puts it, the beginning of the most disgraceful era in German history.

But it was only the culmination of a number of events and trends, especially in the first two years of the Second World War.

From 1933 on the Jews in Germany were systematically stripped of their rights. Until 1935 or 1936 Hitler showed some restraint, partly for foreign policy, partly for economic reasons.

One reason: the 1936 Olympics were to be held in Berlin, so the aim was to keep up pretences.

Yet in September 1935 the Jews were finally deprived of all rights when a law was enacted that German citizens must be of Aryan extraction.

This was the time when German Jews were for the most part stripped of their property and their livelihoods. But from 1934 on, Heydrich had more long-term aims in mind.

He told Göring he felt depriving the Jews of their livelihoods was only an interim move. The main problem, that of throwing the Jews out of Germany, remained.

By the end of 1938 many of them, an estimated 170,000, had left voluntarily. In January 1939 Heydrich set up a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, but it closed down when war was declared.

By this time Hitler already had more in mind than emigration or expulsion of the Jews. On 30 January 1939, the anniversary of the Nazi take-over in 1933, he told the Reichstag the Jewish race would be exterminated in Europe if international Jewry were to plunge the world into another war.

In starting the war himself on 1 September 1939 Hitler fulfilled the prophecy for which he had already blamed the Jews.

As the war extended to ever-wider areas the Nazis were increasingly relieved of the need to take political considerations into account.



Reinhard Heydrich

(Photos: ...)

At the end of September 1939 Heydrich submitted plans to deport all Jews to Poland, where they were to be crowded into ghettoes prior to a final solution that was top secret and would take more time.

He may at that stage have thought for a while in terms of a Jewish state under German administration near Cracow, as mentioned in the minutes of a conversation with General von Brauchitsch, C-in-C of the German Army.

But the final solution was soon to become, in reality, the bid to physically exterminate the Jewish people. Signs that this was envisaged were increasingly apparent from the summer of 1941.

Occupied Poland and Russia provided the territory needed for mass deportations and the construction of death camps.

There were so many Jews in both countries (about five million in the Soviet Union and two million in Poland) that expulsion alone no longer made sense and was prohibited on 23 October 1941.

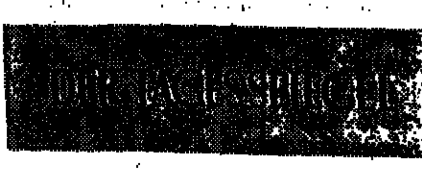
But without putting it in as many words, the SS circular announcing the ban left little doubt as to what was intended. In brackets it added that evacuation measures were not affected.

So the Wannsee conference 40 years ago may fairly be taken to have marked the beginning of the organised holocaust that took millions of European Jews to the concentration camp and the gas chamber.

Jochen Siemens

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 January 1982)

'Most dreadful documents ever written in German'



Forty years ago, on 20 January 1942, high-ranking SS officers and Nazi officials met at a villa in Wannsee, Berlin, for a unique conference.

The minutes of the meeting, which have survived, outline in bland officialese the decision reached: to embark on the final solution of the Jewish Question.

Physical extermination of European Jewry to the last man, woman and child was to be the culmination of growing discrimination and deprivation of rights to which the Jews had been subjected since the Nazis came to power in 1933.

As years went by discrimination led to inhumanity, and the bid to exterminate the Jews was aimed at a minority to whom Germany owed many famous names, brilliant artists and scientists.

This was doubtless one of the reasons for hatred of the Jews, although its roots extended to the irrational, inconceivable.

But the ocean of this hatred was filled from many a minor source, some of which continue to spring eternal, such as the envy and complexes of the narrow-minded.

Anti-Semitism survives in many guises, including anti-Zionism, which is currently popular and enjoys something of a progressive aura.

The minutes of the Wannsee Conference, to all intents and purposes the death sentence for nearly six million people, are probably the most dreadful document ever written in German.

But their importance goes beyond Germany. The way in which the final solution was planned and implemented showed how thin the veneer of civilisation is and to what depths of hatred mankind can descend.

Hitler and Himmler, Heydrich and Eichmann will always spring to mind whenever German or European history is discussed. That may well be the legacy that weighs most heavily on all Germans capable of grasping the magnitude of their crimes and of being ashamed of them. No-one can opt out the history of his people. The Wannsee Conference and what it entailed are not the exclusive responsibility of one generation.

They might have been if it had been a matter of individual guilt or failure to extend a helping hand. But the Jewish holocaust was something more; it still is.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 20 January 1982)

■ AVIATION

Lufthansa change at the top amid all sorts of rumblings

Seldom has the managing directorship of a major company changed hands in such unpleasant and spectacular circumstances as at Lufthansa.

If all the allegations levelled at the new man, Social Democrat Heinz Ruhnau, were true, the tale would be most upsetting.

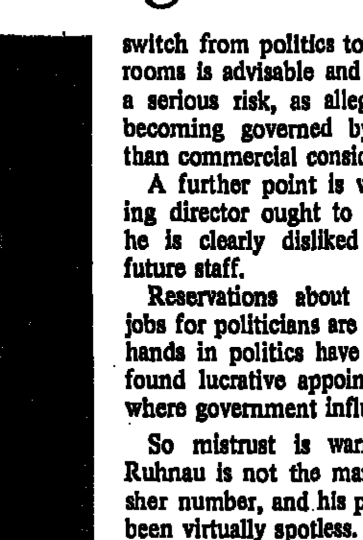
It would be a case of an incompetent party-politician successfully intriguing to get an able board chairman, Herbert Culmann, ousted two years before he was due to retire.

This is unlikely to be the truth. If it were, everyone who endorsed Herr Ruhnau would have to be a bounder, while Herr Culmann's supporters were all as pure as the driven snow.

There is certainly no proof that it was Herr Ruhnau's lobby that tried to take Herr Culmann to task for allowing Lufthansa tickets to be sold to a bucket shop operator known as Monsieur Felix.

If it had been, it would have been misjudged. Anyone could have seen that a campaign of this kind might backfire, and Herr Culmann was sure to stand up and fight back.

The bucket shop affair has been partly overrated and partly played down. The cash at issue is a drop in the ocean in relation to Lufthansa's turnover. But is is a matter of credibility, not just cash.



Heinz Ruhnau ... flies in

(Photo: Poly-Press)

Lufthansa has always made a point of insisting on IATA fares as printed on the ticket, yet by offering Monsieur Felix overgenerous commission more or less invited travel agents to offer discount fares.

It just will not do for the airline to argue that there was nothing it could do to ensure the right prices were charged.

But the affair was not so important that the managing director's job should have been in jeopardy.

When Herr Culmann's contract was renewed for a five-year term in 1979 provision was made for early retirement should he might need to do so for health reasons.

But had it not been for the Felix affair the change-over, always a delicate business at the helm of a major company, would have run much more smoothly.

Had it not been for this affair Lufthansa staff would not have been so upset about Herr Ruhnau's candidature and their anger could not, arguably, have been so well orchestrated.

The basic problem is whether a switch from politics to corporate boardrooms is advisable and whether there is a serious risk, as alleged, of Lufthansa becoming governed by political rather than commercial considerations.

A further point is whether a managing director ought to be selected when he is clearly disliked by most of his future staff.

Reservations about top management jobs for politicians are nothing new. Old hands in politics have often sought and found lucrative appointments in sectors where government influence is strong.

So mistrust is warranted. But Herr Ruhnau is not the man to try for a cusher number, and his political career has been virtually spotless.

Besides, is an under-secretaryship at the Ministry of Transport so much less exacting than chairmanship of the board of a major airline?

Some would sooner see no former politicians, not even politicians with suitable qualifications, at the helm in industry. But that would be to overrate the quality of existing managerial manpower.

In industrial management there are outstanding personalities but, as in all walks of life, there are also no end of mediocrities.

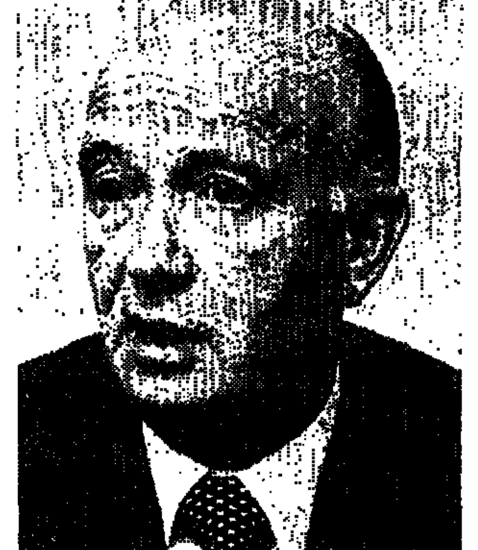
From what one knows and has heard about Heinz Ruhnau he is a cut or two above the mediocre, and as a transport specialist and supervisory board member at Lufthansa he is aware of the problems facing civil aviation around the world.

Yet one can still argue that his appointment as board chairman marks the beginning of an undesirable trend towards politics at Lufthansa.

This can mean all things to all men, but the government could, for example, urge the airline to buy aircraft made in Germany and safeguard the jobs of German aircraft workers.

It might also call on Lufthansa to fly unprofitable routes or abandon to the railways routes it would like to continue serving.

Management jobs could become jobs for the boys, doled out to party-political nominees. Lufthansa's good name could be discredited.



Herbert Culmann ... flies out

(Photo: Interpress)

Not for nothing it it said of Lufthansa that it is lent a helping hand by Bonn, a major shareholder, when it comes to air fares and landing rights.

Since Herr Ruhnau is not reputed to be either a weakling or an ideologist, the situation will probably remain unchanged: a combination of industrial management and government regulation of competition.

He can hardly be straining at the leash to subject the airline to ominous political influence, to ruin it economically and to make it abjectly dependent on government subsidies.

If a board chairman had to be approved by a staff poll Herr Ruhnau would have been most unlikely to gain approval, but do the thousands of Lufthansa employees who were against him really know what his qualifications are? And are they any judge?

The staff are adequately represented on the supervisory board, which appoints management board directors. On the supervisory board the representatives of ÖTV, the public service and transport workers' union, backed Herr Ruhnau.

It is now up to them to explain why and to Herr Ruhnau himself to help ease tempers at Lufthansa and disarm his critics by sound management.

His performance will be followed with interest.

Gerhard Meyenburg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 25 January 1982)

A damaged reputation

What heavy weather Lufthansa made of choosing Heinz Ruhnau to succeed Herbert Culmann, whose health is no longer the best, as managing director!

It is just as well that squabbling within the airline before the decision was finally reached in Frankfurt on 22 January had no effect on the quality and reliability of Lufthansa service.

Even so, the airline's fine international reputation has taken a drubbing. Was Bonn Transport Minister Volker Hauff politically wise to back his under-secretary, Herr Ruhnau, so strongly?

There was far too much unnecessary argument, just as it is wrong to imagine that campaigning against Herr Ruhnau from within Lufthansa was motivated solely by disinterested concern for the company's future.

Ambition, stubbornness and nepotism are charges that can be levelled at his opponents too, who will not have relished the prospect of a strong man.

Herr Ruhnau has made the running but the dispute has yet to be settled. All that can be said is that Heinz Ruhnau is a tough customer.

At the Ministry, as Senator for Home Affairs in Hamburg and as a supervisory board member of various leading companies he has gained sufficient experience to avoid finding himself the loser at Lufthansa.

It is not fair to say that he as a Social Democrat, like Volker Hauff, only got the job because he was in the right political party.

Lufthansa may be largely government-run and party-political considerations may well have been borne in mind by the Transport Minister. But that will have been all.

Friedheim Fiedler

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 23 January 1982)

Policy of updating aircraft fleet pays dividends



With so many airlines in the red Lufthansa are lucky to run a fleet of modern planes. They are easier to lease to other operators when not needed by the airline whose livery they display.

Since last April two Lufthansa Airbuses have been on loan to Air Algérie and the German airline is negotiating with several others to farm out two more planes.

Civil aviation the world over is bedevilled by low capacity, high fuel prices and too many aircraft. To get out of the red, airlines mothball, sell or lease planes.

Air Algérie is likely to renew for a further year the contract by which it flies the Lufthansa Airbuses Rothenburg ob der Tauber and Freudenstadt.

Lufthansa would like to find hire customers for another Airbus and a DC 10-30. Both are still in service but not being used at a satisfactory capacity.

Air traffic is marking time and Lufthansa, like everyone in civil aviation, are not feeling as optimistic as they used to be. Besides, the company has to save money.

This means rationalising by thinning out services on uneconomic routes. Instead of four flights a week by DC-10, for example, there may be three a week by the much larger Jumbo.

On other routes the 146-seater Europa Jet, the 727, may be replaced by the 109-seater City Jet, the 737, while the Europa Jet takes over on routes previously served by Airbus.

The two Airbuses on loan to Air Algérie were only taken into service by Lufthansa in 1977 and 1978 respectively.

But there is no substitute for the airline's last four gas-guzzling 707-730Bs. They are long-range planes seating 146. They were commissioned between 1965 and 1967.

No aircraft has been designed to replace them or their competitor the DC 8.

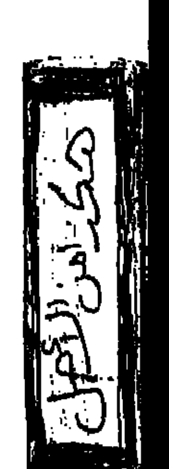
Lufthansa also benefits from collaboration with Condor, its charter subsidiary. Condor too has trouble with its fleet, but it should prove easier to solve.

Two new planes that are due to be delivered in February will be handed over to Lufthansa. Another, a 727, is to be sold this summer.

At weekends, when business traffic is slack, Lufthansa lends Condor planes to fly holidaymakers to their destinations.

Ferdinand Hannen

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 19 January 1982)



■ TRANSPORT

Big canal, bigger row

Transport Minister Volker Hauff, the youngest member of the Bonn Cabinet, has set himself a task of truly historic dimensions.

He plans to sound the death knell of an idea that fired the imagination of Charlemagne 1,200 years ago and has since been resurrected at regular intervals.

It is the plan to dig a canal to link the North Sea and the Black Sea via the Rhine, the Main and the Danube.

Traces of the canal Charlemagne tried to build can still be seen near Graben in the Altmühl valley, not far from Regensburg in Bavaria.

It was not completed, unlike the canal built for Kind Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1846. But the 19th century was the century of the railways, and the canal was not a financial success.

Inland waterway traffic along the 1846 canal was never really profitable in comparison with shipment by rail, and the canal has been closed to traffic since 1945.

Herr Hauff would now like to ensure that the latest Rhine-Main-Danube canal project is cancelled, thereby forestalling yet another fiasco.

But plans that have been in the making for over 1,000 years cannot be abandoned without further ado, not even by a Transport Minister who can produce figures to substantiate his claim that the project is just about the worst idea since the Tower of Babel.

As in the case of the Biblical tower, hopeless misunderstanding seems to have arisen over the Rhine-Main-Danube canal, or rather its missing link, the 99-km (62-mile) section that has yet to be built.

Fellow-members of political parties and trade unions are suddenly at daggers drawn, erstwhile allies hold views that are poles apart and strange new coalitions take shape.

Chancellor Schmidt does not take the same view as Herr Hauff, in whom he otherwise has the greatest confidence, but Herr Hauff knows he enjoys the support of Interior Minister Gerhart Baum and the Free Democrats.

This is not to say that Herr Baum's FDP colleagues Lambsdorff and Genscher will necessarily vote against the canal in the Cabinet.

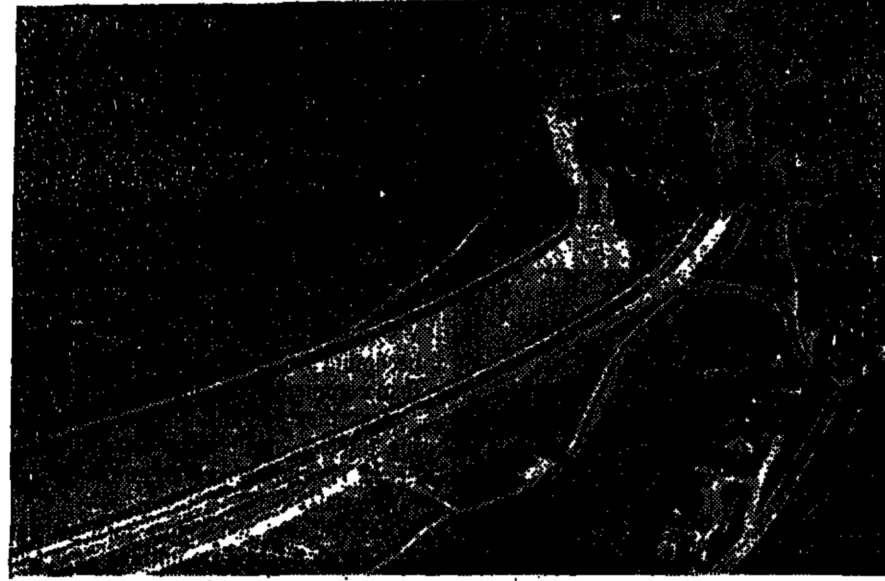
Herr Genscher as Foreign Minister has to bear in mind Chancellor Kreisky of Austria, who was recently promised yet again by Herr Schmidt that the canal would be completed.

This undertaking was welcomed by Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, who is not often on the same side of the political fence as Helmut Schmidt.

It has also been welcomed by the Bavarian region of DGB, the trade union confederation, but not by the railwaymen's union, and by the Bavarian region of the Chancellor's Social Democratic Party.

The Bavarian Social Democrats are confident the canal will create jobs and will hear nothing of the objections raised by Herr Hauff or other Social Democrats in Bonn.

Then there are the environmentalists. They have already announced their intention of fighting to save the Altmühl valley and impressed the Transport Ministry, if a Ministry circular is any guide.



The Rhine-Main-Danube Canal . . . a tranquil contrast to the arguments over its very construction. (Photo: dpa)

The Ministry is certainly no longer ruling out the possibility of civil disobedience campaigns such as those in connection with the radioactive waste dump and nuclear fuel reprocessing plant plans at Gorleben and with the proposed new runway at Frankfurt airport.

On this occasion differences of opinion extend even to within the ranks of the coalition parties in Bonn.

The sorrow and anger of opponents of the canal are understandable. It would run a concrete bed 55 metres wide (and up to 100 metres wide including service facilities) though one of the country's last unspoilt river valleys.

The Altmühl valley, which runs in a south-westerly direction down to the Danube near Regensburg, north of Munich, is idyllic, with orchids growing and rare animals at large.

As in the Sulz and Danube valleys, embankments to prevent flooding would probably transform the unspoilt countryside into a steppe or wasteland.

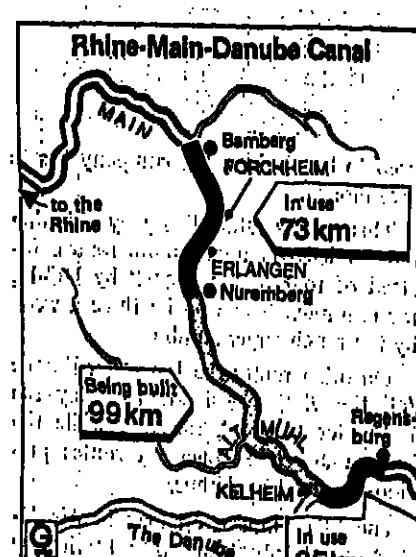
As a refuge for rare flora and fauna it would certainly be gone for good.

Construction equipment is already at work in many places, but three quarters of the valley are still intact, as are the equally invaluable Sulz and Ottmaringen valleys.

In normal circumstances it would be wishful thinking to harbour any hopes of getting the Rhine-Main-Danube project cancelled so late in the day.

From Aschaffenburg on the Main, east of Frankfurt, to Passau on the Danube, on the border between Bavaria and Austria, canalisation to handle standard barges is to extend over 677 kilometres, or 423 miles.

It hardly makes sense to abandon the entire idea with only 62 miles left to dig, or rather, it would not normally do so.



But times are not normal. The environmentalists can count themselves lucky that ecological common sense has been joined by economic constraints.

Bonn is short of cash and according to official estimates construction costs will total another DM1.2bn, while ecologists claim the true cost will be nearer DM3bn.

Fifteen years ago, when Bavaria and the Bonn government reached agreement on the project, the Bavarian audit office advised against it in the strongest terms.

The canal was not needed, rail transport was much cheaper and industrialisation in its catchment area was most unlikely, if experience was anything to go by.

Besides, technology developed at such a pace that there was a serious risk of the new canal being superfluous only years after completion, as its 19th century predecessor had been.

The audit office's opinion was not published until years after the agreement between Bonn and Munich had been signed.

The Bonn Transport Ministry now shares the scepticism voiced by the Bavarian auditors. It reckons that the economic benefit to be expected from each mark invested would be a mere 50 pfennigs.

This figure is said to include the impact of the regional economic boost Bavaria is hoping for. The canal would take goods traffic away from the railways, increasing the state-owned railways' deficit by between DM120m and DM190m a year.

So Herr Hauff wants the Cabinet to empower him to negotiate with Bavaria on cancellation of the project. But Bavaria's Herr Strauss will hear nothing of a shutdown.

Herr Hauff will have to offer Munich some very tempting concession indeed if Bavaria is to come to terms. One idea is that Bavaria might be prepared to accept more cash from Bonn towards the cost of building the autobahn from Würzburg to Ulm.

Herr Hauff is not interested in the idea, put forward by environmentalists, of challenging the legality of the 1966 agreement on the ground that it was not rightly gazetted.

A spokesman for the Transport Ministry, Herr Holst, says: "By the time litigation reached a conclusion the canal would long since have been completed."

Legally the situation is less troublesome where Austria is concerned. Vienna can but hope Bonn will honour Chancellor Schmidt's undertaking.

Germany is under no binding international legal obligation to get digging.

Jürn G. Prätorius

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 23 January 1982)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Bird faces extinction

This year's Bird of the Year is the curlew, says the German Ornithological Association. And none too soon. It may not be around for much longer.

It is redlisted as facing extinction in Germany and this is exactly what will happen unless something is done to help it survive in its traditional breeding grounds.

The Bird of the Year is regularly nominated to draw attention to the [illegible] of a species, and for 1982 the curlew was chosen on behalf of a number of waders that need marsh, moorland and meadows in which to breed.

Intensive cultivation has led to the drainage of marshland, especially in areas where plots of land have changed hand to make land ownership less like a patchwork quilt.

The result is that there are fewer and fewer patches of land where the curlew feels at home.

The curlew is a very loyal bird. It does not just clear out when its old breeding ground is drained dry. It still keeps coming, year after year.

A striking bird with white tail feathers and long, downturning beak, you can hear the male's distinctive mating call in March and April on tilled land that has long since been drained.

But only the generation that remember when the area was under water [illegible]. Once the old birds die, younger ones stay away. And that was it. No more curlews.

Between 1975 and 1980 ornithologists claim the number of curlews in Germany declined at 3.3 per cent per annum. Very few young are hatched and survive.

Were this trend to continue the curlew would be extinct in, say, North Rhine-Westphalia within about 30 years.

Its original habitat is marsh and moorland. Where they were cultivated and the woodman's axe cleared the [illegible] the curlew felt very much at home.

But nowadays there are fewer and fewer meadows and moors of the kind to which waders take a liking.

So ornithologists suggest listing typical breeding grounds as nature reserves for the curlew and other waders, such as the black-tailed godwit, the snipe and the redshank.

The land could be bought or rented on a long-term basis, or its owners could be paid compensation for not developing it.

In nature reserves for waders there would have to be no hedges, although hedges are usually invaluable ecologically.

But the hedge is home to the magpie and the raven, the polecat and the weasel, and they are all fond of curlews' eggs and chicks.

This is not, however, to say that all hedges in suitable country should be cut down merely as a pretext to make survival easier for the curlew and others.

A number of measures could be undertaken to encourage more curlews to breed in areas listed, such as cutting drainage schemes and laying on shallows to an ideal 1,000 to 5,000 square metres of water per five hectares.

Economic arguments usually prevail but unless some consideration is given to the ecological aspect, curlews and other threatened species may not last extinction much longer. They will already be extinct.

Heribert Welhöfer

(Die Welt, 23 January 1982)

■ THE ARTS

Looking back through camera lens – a giant but disorderly pot pourri

The very first photo in the Bonn exhibition entitled The Portrait in Photography is both a programme and a provocation.

Taken by pioneer photographer William Henry Fox Talbot in 1840, it shows the bust of a blind Roman.

Photography, having set itself the task of taking pictures from life, stuck to dead matter from its earliest days, making itself a mere copy of a copy.

It transferred life, to which it felt committed, on to a dead piece of paper. Is it just ironic that one of the first photographs ever taken depicted a blind man?

Have a century and a half of photographic history been a misunderstanding? There can be no mistaking the critical undertones.

They come to light in a three-part exhibition at the *Rheinisches Landesmuseum* in Bonn that will run until spring next year.

Having discovered that there was no such thing as a reliable history of photography, the organisers of the Bonn exhibition chose to jump in at the deep end.

They put together a collection of outstanding photographs that laid the groundwork for a gigantic but disorderly pot pourri.

This circumstance was probably instrumental in ensuring that the exhibition was not a fiasco. In Bonn the selection has not been made to lend support to some half-baked theory or other, as is usually the case.

Instead, proposals are advanced and attempts made to cut swathes through the undergrowth of photographic history wherever prospects of progress are seen.

The clue of thread and central issue of the exhibition is how man sees himself and how he portrays himself, two interlocking factors.

The portraits of mankind on exhibit allow us to gain a very clear picture of the kind of society that saw and photographically portrayed itself in this way.

The initial arrangement is chronological, but that is only one thread of the exhibition. We are also shown how photographers and the photographed accept the medium.

Over the past 150 years there appear to be three major epochs into which the exhibition has been subdivided.

In the 19th century the ascendant bourgeoisie first took up position in front of the camera with unbroken self-assurance and an unbroken view of themselves.

Early photographs depict not people but bourgeois facades that are quick to standardise with the expansion of the medium and go down in the anonymity of early mass snapshots.

These photos prefigure an age that was governed by industry, by industrial methods of production and by a view of man as a means of production.

Photography undergoes this change. As soon as it starts to depict the social hardship generated by the bourgeoisie it ceases to be a suitable means of representation.

The feeble glow of the bourgeoisie on the photographic surface of the exposures fades entirely. The self-assured individual is replaced by men and women seen in more problematic terms than in top hat and tails.

They are people identified by their work and by their social disadvantagement: People as photographed by August Sander at the turn of the century are no longer individuals; they represent their social class.

Mass mankind in the industrial era is seen by photographers as more of an object, eventually being relegated to the role of an object to be arranged in the photograph.

With the further expansion of photography, especially in the illustrated mass media of the 20th century, its significance underwent a further change.

Initially it may have been able to convey bourgeois self-esteem; nowadays it tends to bolster self-confidence.

Portraits these days make us stand out from the anonymous crowd, give us a face. Klaus Honnef and Jan Thorn-Prikker, the exhibition organisers, say:

"Photography indicates how we are to behave, how we are to look. It determines the image of reality; reality no longer determines the image of photography."

Around this framework of ideas a wide range of photographs on specific subjects have been grouped together, giving from one vantage-point after another new insight into the age and photography in it. This variety is exemplified by a catalogue 700 pages long that is due to be on general sale in bookshops by the time the exhibition closes. Providing it takes up the critical thread of the exhibition it could well outline the long suffering of photography. Take, for instance, the blindness with which we time and again make too exacting demands on it and unintentionally make the age and the *Zeitgeist* flow into it. Intention and effect, appearance and being, perception and realisation are at odds.

A James van der Zee photograph taken in 1937. It is on loan at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum from the Gallery Sonnabend, New York. (Photo: Rheinisches Landesmuseum)

If photography testifies to anything, it is to this.

And we come full circle. The exhibition ends with the photograph with which it started.

Hans J. Scheurer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 January 1982)



A collection of a Belgian surrealist

René Magritte and Surrealism in Belgium, the exhibition now on show at Hamburg's *Kunstverein*, is a collection Belgium can well envy Hamburg.

It was to have been shown in Belgium but will now move from Hamburg to Rome only; then the exhibits will be returned to their normal owners.

The crux of the exhibition is 35 paintings by the early Magritte, plus drawings and photographs, and 11 paintings by Paul Delvaux.

Then come the friends of the Brussels group of surrealists, with paintings, collages, objects, drawings and other items.

Demarcation from Paris surrealism naturally plays a leading role. Belgium is keen to portray itself as an art country with a distinctive personality of its own.

Magritte, who spent three years in Paris, is here given a homecoming, as it were, which is why the Hamburg exhibition was government-backed.

The Belgian version of surrealism is presented in almost family fashion, as in the case of Paul Colinet's magazine *Vendredi*, of which he produced a single weekly copy for his nephew Robert Willems in Africa.

He wrote, drew and put together collages for his magazine. Magritte, Scutenaire, Dotremont, Lecomte, Marien, Nouge and others worked for the more than 100 issues to which it ran.

René Magritte's "Le joueur secret" (1926). (Photo: Kunstverein Hamburg)

The mixture of the revolutionary and the dilettante that characterised the magazine was typical of other work by the group.

They were not professional artists and did not want to be. They used scissors and paste for photographic montage, drew away naively (anticipating Roland Topor's irreal destructionism) or put together objects that to many a contemporary artist have a depressing air of déjà vu.

They did not hold with the Parisian craze for manifestos, but they were keen producers of imaginative but short-lived periodicals.

Their output is lovingly spread over three storeys at Hamburg's Kunsthaus, but the main exhibits are restricted to the premises of the Kunstverein.

There are the paintings by Magritte and Delvaux, which alone are of any real artistic significance, and they testify to surprising parallels in their choice of topics.

Magritte's 1937 Forbidden Reproductions and Delvaux's The Mirror, painted the year before, both take up the *vanitas* motif, with death facing the viewer from the mirror.

There are likewise similarities between Magritte's 1936/37 Praise of Dialectics, in which the view through a window opens on to a view of another house, and Delvaux's 1936 The Window, in which the view into a room changes into a view out into a landscape.

Delvaux always objected to being called a surrealist and Magritte repeatedly warned against looking for symbols in his paintings. It was, he said, much easier:

"One all too often has a habit of associating what is strange by a play of ideas into what is familiar."

Is it really this easy? The Hamburg exhibition makes one doubt it and take a closer look.

Peter Dittmar

(Die Welt, 25 January 1982)

LITERATURE

Exhibition reveals a little more of a homeless coffee house writer

Who was Joseph Roth, the homeless coffee house writer and teller of East European Jewish legends?

The Roth exhibition, organised by the German Library in Frankfurt and now in Berlin, the last destination on its itinerary, answers some of the questions surrounding the writer with its huge array of material.

Although the master journalist and stylist Joseph Roth is no longer with us, his novels, such as *Radetzky-Marsch*, *Kapuzinergruft* and *Hotel Savoy*, need no revival. They have been turned into films and have a large readership.

One of the main aims of the exhibition is to outline the person, especially during his years in exile, through hitherto unpublished documents and letters: the first attempt to provide a systematic depiction of the man's life and work.

Most of the material stems from the library's vast collection of emigré literature, which has been arranged in cooperation with the Leo Baeck Institute in New York.

Joseph Roth's publishers, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, have also provided documents relating to their many years of close ties with the "difficult" author.



Joseph Roth . . . master stylist (Photo: Kiepenheuer & Witsch)

The whole thing adds up to a biography displayed on the walls of Berlin's Academy of Arts. But there is also a 550-page catalogue with original texts and the finest of the many portraits of Roth and his friends.

Regrettably, the organisers do not provide enlargements of this material — which could have added a new dimension to the exhibition.

One of the most interesting sections is the foyer where early pictorial material — mostly from the 1920s — is on display.

Friederike Roth (known to her friends as Friedl), the lovely and much admired Viennese woman, had many faces — none of which gives the slightest indication of her psychological problems and of the fact that she was soon to become an incurable mental case.

Very little is known about this love affair and marriage. There are no letters to document it.

The otherwise so communicative author, who delighted in presenting himself in all sorts of guises, left the world in the dark about his origins and, indeed, even his place of birth in Galica (Brody, a small town on the very periphery of the Habsburg empire). It took a great deal of work and time to track down such biographical facts.

And as to Joseph Roth's *Weltanschauung*, this in particular is full of contradictions. Was he a socialist or a monarchist? And what are we to think of his Catholicism (which he displayed on occasion) when he never took the trouble to have himself baptised?

it is an established fact that Roth's Austrian jingoism had something to do with his 1930s ties with Otto von Habsburg. Another fact is that this has obscured his significance as one of the earliest warners against the Hitler menace (his reports on the Hitler trial in 1923).

He was at loggerheads with Tucholsky, and yet in his *Das Auto-da-Fe des Geistes* he paid tribute to him along with the other writers whose books were publicly burned.

His abhorrence of dictatorship prompted him to make seemingly political statements. Yet he was essentially apolitical — very much like his character Lieutenant Trotta ("I myself am Trotta").

Roth was no fighter and he was no diagnostician of his era, despite his gift of observation.

He started drinking heavily around 1930 and he referred to his *Legende vom heiligen Trinker* (which was published posthumously in 1939) as his last will and testament.

To the very end, alcohol destroyed only his body, not his intellect. He remained meticulous in literary terms.

In his opening address at the Roth exhibition, Marcel Reich-Ranicki shed much light on this unsettled writer who moved from place to place in Europe and whose only home was the German language.

Reich-Ranicki's address, starting with Roth's seemingly negative traits and pointing to his small flaws, foibles and prejudices, probed the depths of Roth in a manner he attributed to the great writer himself: "He had enough charm to forgo any attempt at lending weight to his works." The very contradictions in Roth tempted Reich-Ranicki to put his life into perspective and present a credible image of him: the "big child", the "man with the traits of the Wandering Jew."

As much as he was driven from place to place, Reich-Ranicki told the audience, his prose reflected total peace.

And the more poetic and fairytale-like the motifs, the more matter-of-fact his depiction.

One could add to this that it is this that makes him a prose writer who must be taken seriously.

The stations of Roth's life can be summed up as Vienna, Prague, Paris and, to some extent, Berlin.

He developed his style as an essayist in the same house in Berlin's Potsdamer Strasse that served the aging novelist Theodor Fontane as a home until his death.

He wrote for various Berlin newspapers, switching in 1922 from the *Börsenkurier* to *Vorwärts*.

He was not fond of Berlin — he had just married Friedl — but Berlin was the only place where he had an apartment. His flight from hotel to hotel had not yet begun.

Hedwig Rohde

(Der Tagesspiegel, 14 January 1982)

Hamburg prize for English novelist

This year's Shakespeare Prize of the Hamburg F.V.S. Foundation has been awarded to the London writer Doris Lessing.

The prize carries an award of DM25,000 and is given for "the promotion of European cultural heritage".

Doris Lessing, whose family lived in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) from 1924 to 1948, was born in Iran in 1919.

She made a name for herself primarily through her novels, many of which — like *The Golden Notebook* — have been translated into German.

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 20 January 1982)

Frankfurt theory about an old troubadour and poet

The City of Frankfurt has unexpectedly acquired yet another famous son: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe appears to have a "medieval brother", the poet and troubadour Walther von der Vogelweide.

Since von der Vogelweide is said to have spent many years at the Vienna court, Austria and perhaps to a lesser extent Bavaria have always been regarded as his home.

Von der Vogelweide died near Würzburg and Kaiser Friedrich II is said to have endowed him with a small estate in 1220.

Frankfurt genealogist Heinz F. Friederichs has now come up with the thesis that he came from Frankfurt.

The contention is based on the perusal of 12th and 13th century documents and a wide range of other clues.

As far back as the 17th century, Conrad Stein, a Frankfurt city councillor and subsequently mayor, was on the same track. In his search for von der Vogelweide's grave in Würzburg he came upon a sandstone epitaph with the barely legible inscription: *O(biit) walth(erus) d(e) fra(n)kv(fort).*

In various records of the Bartholemew Monastery, Frankfurt, Friederichs came upon a "Waltherus Fugelwedere" who must have died between 1229 and 1237 and for whom a mass was said in Frankfurt.

The records also mention his parents, Wolfram and Gisela. Son Walther appears to have been born around 1170.

Friederichs even claims to be able to pinpoint the house of the von der Vogelweides near today's St. Paul's Church — a place where cages with falcons were kept in the Middle Ages.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 January 1982)

Theatre that gave Schiller the break he needed



Friedrich Schiller . . . luck and bad luck in Mannheim. (Photo: Historia)

Two hundred years ago, on 13 January 1782, the then new Mannheim Theatre premiered Friedrich Schiller's *The Robbers*, earning the author a massive ovation.

This major success had an impact on the future of the "rebel of Marbach".

In 1778, when the reigning Duke Carl Theodor left Mannheim to go to Munich and assume his Bavarian legacy, he ordered the establishment of a theatre as his last benefaction for Mannheim and environs.

The moment was propitious: the first director of the theatre, Baron Wolfgang Heribert von Dalberg, managed to assemble an outstanding troupe of actors, and it was he who summoned the courage to stage Schiller's revolutionary tragedy. *The Robbers* was the first drama by the then 22-year-old regimental barber-surgeon.

The fact that Schiller's subsequent appointment as the house dramatist of the Mannheim theatre stood under an unlucky star in no way detracts from the fact that it was this city that made his breakthrough possible.

To this day, the theatre bears the great writer's name *(Schiller Bühne)*.

As early as the year 1800, the Mannheim Theatre acquired the reputation of being the most interesting German company.

The Ducal Mannheim Theatre that began its work on 7 October 1779 in a converted warehouse with a Carlo Goldoni comedy fell under the jurisdiction of Baden (together with the city) in 1802 and was renamed "Grand Ducal Court and National Theatre". It was then ineptly managed from Karlsruhe.

But Mannheim did not rest until it was able to make theatre history once more in 1839 by becoming Germany's first "City Theatre".

Despite its name, it has remained a municipal theatre to this day. About half of its DM40m annual budget is provided by the City of Mannheim.

It is not surprising that a great many great names are closely linked with the theatre's 200-year history.

August Wilhelm Iffland, who excelled in the role of Franz Moor in the Schiller première of 1782, went to Berlin in

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1796 where he put his stamp on the city's hitherto dull theatre.

Wilhelm Furtwängler was Mannheim's house conductor from 1915 to 1920. Albert Bassermann was closely linked with the Mannheim theatre, his uncle, August Bassermann, having been appointed its first director-general in 1889.

The director Carl Hagemann pioneered the "style" stage versus the "illusion" stage; and the actors Willy Birgl and Bum Krüger were part of the Mannheim ensemble.

During a *Freischütz* performance on 5 September 1943, the Mannheim Theatre was destroyed in a bombing raid. And it was Carl Maria von Weber's *Freischütz* with which the theatre reopened on 13 January 1957.

Mannheim thus has a dual anniversary on 13 January 1982: 200 years since the premiere of *The Robbers* and 25 years since its reopening in 1957.

Werner Hill

(Nordwest Zeitung, 14 January 1982)

ARCHAEOLOGY

Embarrassment of riches in Turkey, an El Dorado at an Asian crossroads

Frankfurter Rundschau

The geographic position of Turkey alone makes it an El Dorado for archaeologists.

There are a large number of digs, so teams need to be selective.

West Germans are in the vanguard of foreign groups working in Turkey.

One of the most interesting projects is the unearthing of the Hittite palace complex at Masat-Hüyük in the Hittite city of Tapigga, some 20km south of Zile (formerly Anzilia).

The importance of old Tapigga, northeast of Ankara, results from its favoutile region some 900, above sea level.

Its well-preserved palace complex with its large archives has been completely unearthed.

The excellent state of preservation is surprising considering the long period of settlement from about 2000/1700 BC to about 440 BC.

But the city that goes with the palace on the slope of the hill and the plain below, has a considerably lesser record of settlement.

Three of the levels of settlement fall in the early Bronze Age. The oldest level includes the extensive palace complex that was burnt at the end of the 15th century BC.

Among the surprising aspects are the dimensions of the palace wings with their ornate facades and the inner courtyard. The northern wing measures 72 metres and the east wing 65 metres.

The two wings together contain about 50 rooms of varying sizes, some of them very large, plus storerooms with huge earthenware vessels filled with grain.

Naturally, the evaluation of previous finds at Hatusha-Bogazköy, the Hittite capital, continues parallel with the work at the palace digs.

In Yenidogan near Polatli, southwest of Ankara, the archaeologists laid bare a massive Phrygian fortress on top of a large hill, dating from the 7th or 8th centuries BC.

The triple fortress walls are made of massive blocks with stone filling or of 5.5 metre thick brickwork and are interspersed with watchtowers.

Remains of elaborate architectural work were found inside the fortress. So was written material in Phrygian script.

Further west, in Aizanoi, German archaeologists continue their work on one of the most important German digs: the Zeus Temple. This is the best preserved temple of Asia Minor.

What mattered most initially was to repair the damage caused by the 1970 earthquake. But the archaeologists have meanwhile been able to tackle other work.

One of the positive results of the earthquake was that it enabled the archaeologists to examine destroyed houses, many of which were built from fragments of structures dating back to antiquity. Some of these present day houses were built atop antique structures.

The digs in progress west of the city (since 1978) show extensive Roman hot springs with adjoining palaces. Like in Pompeii, there are extensive colonnades (74m by 74m).

Another interesting German project was completed after several years of intensive work in Demerci-Hüyük near the ancient and important road leading from Eskischir to Bursa and Istanbul.

Demerci-Hüyük's settlement period is certain to date back to the Neolithic Period. It is, however, generally assumed that it played a major role in the early Bronze Age (about 2000 BC). There are certain significant similarities with complexes in south eastern Europe.

An exactly planned circular fortification with a diameter of between 70 metres to 80 metres was erected on top of a hill which was conspicuous at the time but had subsequently been flattened by erosion.

In all likelihood, the fortification, with its very thick walls, had four gates and possibly other outlying obstacles.

The gates, one of which has been completely laid bare, are what is known as corridor gates with a length of about 20m designed for easy defence.

The archaeologists assume that the enormously important road at the time, linking Anatolia, in Asia, with the Bosporus — and hence Europe — led straight through this fortress. The settlement around the fortress is bound to have profited from this fact.

It is still unknown whether a fire in the early Bronze Age, during which two buildings were saved because they were given priority by the "fire brigade", was due to military clashes or natural causes such as an earthquake.

It is also still unknown whether there was a temple of sorts somewhere near Demerci-Hüyük. The fortress lost its significance around the middle of the Bronze Age.

Turkish archaeologists have uncovered nine antique quarries complete with access road on the island of Marmara (Prokonnesos of antiquity) some 10km off the south coast of the Marmara Sea.

The marble of this island was held in high esteem in antiquity. This is underscored by finds of Corinthian capitals that had been worked on.

The cemetery that has been unearthed near today's village indicates that these quarries were places of banishment for convicts whose sentences had been commuted to lifelong forced labour.

In Klazomenai west of Izmir new prehistoric digs have begun. Here, the settlement problems are still unsolved.

The contention by the Greek writer Pausanias (2nd century AD) that the place was settled by Greeks, having previously been uninhabited, seems to be incorrect because traces of Troy I (around 2500 BC) have been found.

As finds to date indicate, this was followed by a long settlement pause before Troy VI during the Mycaenaen era (around 1350 BC).

In all likelihood, it was generally believed at that time that the Greeks were the first to settle in the region.

Little is known about the founding of the antique Erythrai (today's Ildir) on the Cesme Peninsula.

It is known, however, that the old legends to the effect that it was Greeks from Crete who settled on the west coast of Asia Minor have a kernel of truth.

Turkish archaeologists, headed by E. Akurgal, continue to examine the Athene Temple and its environs. They have also uncovered a Hellenistic villa with arcades and several Roman villas with mosaics.

The work on the 4th century theatre continues.

Italian archaeologists are also working on the uncovering and restoration of an antique theatre in Hierapolis on the border between Karia and Phrygia in the interior.

The theatre is exactly dated thanks to a relief with an inscription. It shows the Roman emperor Septimiss Severus (193-211 AD) together with his second wife Julia Domna and their two sons, Caracalla and Geta.

Another relief that adorns the stage has been salvaged in toto. It shows Apollo and his sister Artemis.

The restoration work included strengthening the area below the stage.

The Hierapolis theatre has become the main attraction of the city together with the warm waterfalls (Pamukkale).

At the foot of the 1,500m Holy Mountain of Latmos, German archaeologists have for some years been working on the antique city of Heraclea and its environs.

Current work concentrates primarily on the fortified late Byzantine monasteries along the north shore of Lake Bafa.

Each of the monasteries is a separate little fortress with church, watchtower and surrounding wall. The large Kiliselik complex falls in the same category.

A particularly interesting feature of Heraclea, which was once located on the seashore and has meanwhile been overlaid by the village of Kapiri, is the well preserved Hellenistic city wall and the Athene Temple.

In the region of antiquity's Miletus, German arcaeologists are now working on the St. Michael's Church.

The development from heathen cult to a Christian church has now been laid bare.

It has become obvious again that ancient heathen cult places were deliberately Christianised while the heathen cults continued.

Below the church is a Hellenistic Dionysos temple which was badly damaged when the church was built.

Finds show that this had been a cult place since the 6th century BC.

The fragments of former architecture used in building the church bear inscriptions that clearly point to Dionysos. Moreover, the Dionysos cult in Miletus is a matter of record.

It seems obvious now that the heathen temple (though perhaps no longer used) was still there at the end of antiquity (between the 4th and the 6th centuries AD) and that it was converted into a church.

Inscriptions from the period between 595 AD and 606 AD show that the entire area was converted into a three-nave basilica. That was when the heathen temple disappeared, its structural components having been used to build the basilica which in turn was destroyed by an earthquake at an unknown date.

Fritz-Heinrich Schröer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 January 1982)

Politics gets in the way of digs in Iran and Iraq

Nordwest Zeitung

German archaeologists are being hampered by the political situation in Iran and Iraq, says the President of the German Archaeological Institute, DAI.

Professor Edmund Buchner said in his annual report that while older projects like the rock reliefs of the pre-Islamic and Islamic Age continued, major digs in Bastam, Firuzabad and Takt-i Suleiman had to be discontinued.

The deputy director of the Institute's department working in Iraq was forced to leave the country in 1981.

Work on the lower fortress of the Tiryns settlement (2nd millenium BC) in Greece was marked by the uncovering by DAI archaeologists of impressive rectangular houses of the Bronze Age, Professor Buchner said.

Having been destroyed, these houses were re-erected on the old foundations.

The Pergamon section of the DAI continues its restoration work on the Trajan Temple which has been in progress since 1977.

After re-erection of the northern hall, 11 columns are now in place.

A well preserved statue of Hadrian with inscription was found during preliminary work.

The work on the Augustus Sundial in Rome continued during 1981.

Government cutbacks have meant that the minimal increase in the 1982 budget is insufficient to offset inflation.

The total budget is DM43m, of which DM7m is provided by various foundations.

The Institute has 225 staff members, of whom 78 are permanently employed archaeologists.

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(Nordwest Zeitung, 15 January 1982)